

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166467 TOSEC 180003

FOL REPEAT BEIRUT 5822 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO  
CAIRO DAMASCUS AMMAN JIDDA TEL AVIV KUWAIT PARIS  
LONDON JUL 3

QTE

CONFIDENTIAL SBEIRUT 5822

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, LE

SUBJECT: TALK WITH JUMBLATT JULY 1

SUMMARY: JUMBLATT SPOKE FOR ALMOST 2 HOURS WITH ME ON WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS. HE OUTLINED THE "SINS" OF THE CHRISTIANS AND THE NEED TO REALIZE HOW MUCH THEY HAD TO LOSE IN SPECIFIC TERMS FROM THEIR CURRENT ALLIANCE WITH THE SYRIANS. HE ATTACKED SYRIAN POLICY AND THOUGHT THE FIRST STEP IS THAT SYRIANS GET OUT BEFORE A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION CAN PROCEED. HE WAS GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CHANCES OF ENDING THE FIGHTING IN THE NEAR FUTURE (THOUGH GIVING NO SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF THIS BEYOND THE GENERAL FEELING THAT "PEOPLE NEED A REST"), AND SAID TIME HAD COME FOR COMPROMISE. HOWEVER, ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS MUST BE CAREFULLY PREPARED, AND GAVE AS AN EXAMPLE TALKS HE AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE HAD WITH BASHIR GEMAYEL, SON OF PIERRE GEMAYEL. HE OUTLINED SOME REFORMS, INCLUDING PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND DE-CONFESSIONALIZATION OF THE STATE, AS CONFIDENTIAL

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EXAMPLES OVER WHICH COMPROMISE CAN BE REACHED. THOUGH RESTED AND SPEAKING IN REASONABLE TERMS, HE WAS NOT VERY CONVINCING THAT PEACE IS AROUND THE CORNER. END SUMMARY.

1. I TOOK LAMBRADIS WITH ME TO CALL ON JUMBLATT JULY 1. HE LOOKED RESTED AFTER SOMETIME IN HIS MOUNTAIN RETREAT, WHERE HE WAS NOT VERY INVOLVED WITH CURRENT POLITICS OVER THE PAST WEEK OR SO. HE WAS WELL-DRESSED, HAD A NEAT HAIRCUT, AND GENERALLY PRESENTED A VERY RELAXED IMAGE AS HE OFFERED US FRUIT AND DEVoured IT HIMSELF, AS IS HIS AFTERNOON HABIT.

2. NOTING THAT HE HAD NEVER MET AMBASSADOR MELOY PERSONALLY, HE BEGAN WITH EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONAL SORROW AT THE DEATH OF ROBERT WARING. HE HAD CONSIDERED HIM AN HONEST FRIEND AND HAD NOTED THINGS HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH WARING WERE LISTENED TO IN WASHINGTON, SINCE HE HAD SEEN PLAYBACKS OF THEM A FEW DAYS LATER IN PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS OR PRESS REPORTS. WHEN ASKED FOR HIS CURRENT BEST ESTIMATE OF WHO THE MURDERERS WERE, JUMBLATT SAID HE THOUGHT THE MURDERS HAD BEEN ORDERED BY DR. HADDAD, WHO IS GEORGE HABASH'S DEPUTY IN THE PFLP. HE SAID HE HAD NOT BEEN IN TOUCH MORE RECENTLY WITH SPECIFICS OF THE INVESTIGATION, BUT WOULD LOOK INTO IT FOR US. I PRESSED HIM ON THIS SCORE, AND HE SEEMED COMPLETELY WILLING TO DO WHAT HE COULD. HE NOTED HIS OWN SISTER'S DEATH AND THE WOUNDING OF HIS NIECES. SUCH PERSONAL GRIEF HELPS ONE APPRECIATE THE GRIEF OF OTHERS, HE SAID.

3. I EXPLAINED MY MISSION TO THE LEBANON, AND NOTED THAT IN EARLIER CONVERSATIONS SINCE MY ARRIVAL CERTAIN SUGGESTIONS HAD COME UP ON WHICH I HAD CONSISTENTLY TRIED TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. I HAVE BEEN POINTING OUT THAT THE US IS AGAINST LEBANESE PARTITION. I HAVE MADE A POINT OF MENTIONING UNITY OF LEBANON IN MY PUBLIC UTTERANCES. I ALSO HAVE TRIED TO DEBUNK LIES SUGGESTING THERE IS A SYRIAN-ISRAELI-CHRISTIAN-USG CONSPIRACY TO SUPPRESS THE PALESTINIAN AND THE LEFT IN LEBANON. I NOTED THAT THE PRESS AND RADIO NEVERTHELESS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THIS THEME DESPITE ANYTHING THE USG OR I CAN SAY. JUMBLATT NODDED HIS UNDERSTANDING.

4. JUMBLATT ADVERTED INDIRECTLY TO US-SYRIAN COLLUSION. HE CONFIDENTIAL

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SAID HE BELIEVED US WHEN WE SAY WE ARE AGAINST PARTITION. HOWEVER, US USED TO BE VERY STRICT ON QUESTION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF LEBANON. THIS CAME UP IN 1958 EVEN IN CONNECTION WITH US FACILITATING THE ELECTION OF GENERAL CHEHAB. ISRAEL HAD BEEN WELL AWARE OVER THE YEARS OF US SUPPORT FOR LEBANESE INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME CURIOUS EVENTS RECENTLY IN SYRIA. ASSAD HAS "TURNED COSSACK" AGAINST THE SOVIETS. HE HAS RENEWED UNDOF MANDATE ON GOLAN HEIGHTS WITHOUT ANY FUSS. ONE CANNOT ESCAPE THE CONCLUSION THAT US PERMISSION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO SYRIANS TOH TO VERY FAR INDEED. EVERYONE BELIEVES THIS, AND JUMBLATT HAD TOLD THIS TO AMBASSADOR BROWNN WHO HE SAID OF COURSE DENIED IT. ONE CANNOT IMAGINE THE SYRIANS WOULD DARE ALLOW

THEIR TROOPS TO ENTER LEBANON WITHOUT SOME KIND OF US GO-AHEAD. THIS IS A "PLOT" OF WHICH EDDE HAS BEEN TALKING FOR A YEAR AND A HALF.

6. JUMBLATT SAID HE BELIEVED SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS A METHOD WHICH JUMBALTT ADMIRES IN ITS TACTICAL EFFICACY. IT LETS PEOPLE FIGHT EACH OTHER UNTIL THEY ARE TIRED AND THEN KISSINGER STEPS IN WITH A SOLUTION. BUT US SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO LOSE ITS FRIENDS IN THE LEBANON. A SOCIALIST STATE MIGHT RISE IN THE LEBANON OVER THE NEXT 2 TO 4 YEARS. (IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, JUMBLATT INSISTED HE WAS SPEAKING ABOUT A SOCIALIST STATE, NOT A COMMUNIST.)

7. SOCIAL REFORM HAD BECOME NECESSARY TO COUNTER MARONITE PRIVILEGE, WHICH IS EXERCISED IN TERMS REMINISCENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES. FIVE PROPRIETORS OWN MOST OF THE BEKAA. THERE ARE UNCULTIVATED LANDS GOING TO WASTE WHILE HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS ARE MISERABLE IN THEIR POVERTY. THE COUNTRY NEEDS TRUE DEMOCRACY. PROGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH JUMBLATT LEADS BELIEVE IN LIBERTY. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM, NOR CLASS WARFARE, OR IN COUPS D'ETAT. HE CLAIMED ALONG THAT LINE TO HAVE PREVENTED GENERAL AHDAB FROM MARCHING AGAINST FRANGIE WHEN FRANGIE DID NOT RESIGN IN MARCH. THIS WAS NOT THE DEMOCRATIC WAY, JUMBLATT SAID. (AS WE RECALL IT, JUMBLATT'S GROUP MAY HAVE HAD A PART IN THIS, BUT IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT HE ALONE PREVENTED AHDAB FROM MARCHING.)

8. THE MARONITES MUST UNDERSTAND THAT OPPOSITION TO THEM CAN  
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CONTINUE FOR YEARS IF THEY DO NOT YIELD. JUMBLATT IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THINGS OVER THE ROUND TABLE, BUT NOT TO CONTINUE ACCEPTING MARONITE MASTERY OF THE COUNTRY. MARONITES HAVE SEVERAL SPECIFIC THINGS THEY SHOULD THINK ABOUT: FIRST, IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW FAR COMMUNISTS MIGHT GO IN LEBANON. JUMBLATT SAID HE DID NOT LIKE THE COMMUNISTS HIMSELF (AND IN FACT EXPECTS GREATER DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION BY ABOUT 1985). HOWEVER, MARONITES SHOULD FEAR COMMUNIST TREND IN LEBANON IF CONDITIONS ON WHICH THEY BREED ARE NOT CHANGED. SECOND, MARONITES SHOULD FEAR EMIGRATION OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE IF THEY MAINTAIN CURRENT SEPARATENESS BEHIND THEIR GUNS. JUMBLATT WAS TOLD 80 PERCENT OF DOCTORS HAVE ALREADY FLED THE COUNTRY. THESE STUBBORN MARONITES MAY SOME DAY FIND THEIR NUMBERS SO REDUCED THAT THEY WILL BE FACED BY A CRUSHING MAJORITY OF ISLAM. THIRD, MARONITES SHOULD FEAR SYRIA. SOME SUCH AS BASHIR GEMAYEL WISELY OPPOSED SYRIAN INTERVENTION FOR THIS REASON; OTHERS -- PARTICULARLY THE MONKS AND CLERICS OF THE CATHOLIC FRONT -- MAINTAIN THEIR HOPES FOR A NEW CRUSADE. SYRIANS BELIEVE THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO REPLACE MOTHER FRANCE AS PROTECTOR OF LEBANON, AND IN PARTICULAR THE MARONITES. BUT ONE DAY THERE COULD BE A CHANGE

OF REGIME IN SYRIA WITH SUNNIS OVERTHROWING THE REGIME AND LIVING UP THEIR FORCES IN LEBANON WITH THE LEFT. TOP CHRISTIAN LEADERS SHOULD REALIZE THIS. (COMMENTING SPECIFICALLY ON GEMAYEL, JUMBLATT SAID HE SUFFERED FROM HALLUCINATIONS AND HAD NO INTELLECTUAL BAGGAGE. CLINICALLY HIS FATHER HAD SUFFERED FROM HALLUCINATIONS.)

9. FINALLY, CHRISTIANS SHOULD REALIZE FORTUNE THEY MADE IN THE PAST WAS BASED ON EXPLOITATION OF ARAB OIL AND SERVICES TO OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES. MARONITES HAVE LOST MUCH OF THIS MONEY (HE SPOKE OF 50,000 LEBANESE IN FRANCE, MANY OF THEM IN FINANCIAL NEED AT PRESENT). MARONITES MUST REALIZE THAT THESE ARAB STATES WILL TURN AGAINST THEM AND ISOLATE THEM IF THEY CONTINUE TO BEHAVE AS THEY DO. JUMBLATT HIMSELF HAD TO INTERVENE SOME MONTHS AGO FOR FRIENDS WHO WERE ABOUT TO BE EXPELLED FROM LIBYA AND KUWAIT.

10. TROUBLE WITH MARONITES, JUMBLATT SUMMED UP, IS THAT THEY ARE OBSESSED BY FEAR. SARKIS MAY TURN OUT TO BE THE LAST CONFIDENTIAL

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MARONITE PRESIDENT OF LEBANON. THEY MADE A BIG MISTAKE IN CURRENT ATTACK ON TELL ZAATAR, WHICH HE WAS SORRY TO SEE BASHIR GEMAYEL ALSO JOINED IN ON FINALLY. MUSLIMS COULD HAVE DONE NASTY THINGS TO CHRISTIAN VILLAGES SUCH AS DEIR EL-QAMAR (IN THE CHOUF), BUT THEY WOULD NOT. NOR WOULD MUSLIMS ATTACK CHRISTIANS IN RAS BEIRUT, AS MANY SEEMED TO FEAR. MARONITES MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY AND ACCEPT WESTERNIZING THE COUNTRY INSTITUTIONS. BY THIS HE MEANT REFORMS TO SUPPRESS SECTARIANISM AND ESTABLISH GOVERNMENT ON MODERN PRINCIPLES.

11. I ASKED HIM IF HE HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE COMPROMISE AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED LAST FEBRUARY BY FRANGIE. JUMBLATT SAID THOSE POINTS HAD BEEN ACCEPTABLE THEN, BUT CHRISTIANS HAD REJECTED THEM, AND SITUATION HAS CHANGED. THE LEFT ALLIANCES PARTIES WILL NO LONGER ACCEPT THEM. IN THIS SENSE MARONITES ARE ARABS, AND HAVE BEEN ACTING AS ARABS HAVE ACTED HISTORICALLY TOWARDS ISRAEL -- THEY ACCEPT NOTHING UNTIL IT IS TOO LATE.

12. COURSE AHEAD, JUMBLATT SAID, MUST BE TO PREPARE A COMPROMISE AGREEMENT. THIS MUST BE PRECEDED BY NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH QUIET OR PUBLIC CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SIDES, BEFORE FINAL AGREEMENT IS BROUGHT TO A ROUND TABLE AND SANCTIONED THERE. THEN THERE SHOULD BE A NEW PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION ACCORDING TO THE NEW PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON. WHEN ASKED TO SPECIFY REFORMS HE WANTED, HE MENTIONED PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF GETTING MORE YOUNG PEOPLE IN. HOWEVER, THIS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO NO MORE THAN THREE PARTIES BEING ELECTED, AND LIST SHOULD PERMIT VOTERS TO EXPRESS INDIVIDUAL PREFERENCES FOR PEOPLE ON THE LIST. A SECOND CHAMBER SHOULD BE CREATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS WELL-PUBLICIZED PROGRAM. OBJECTIVE IS TO ABOLISH CONFESSIONALISM AND

ELEIMINATE MEDIOCRITY IN PARLIAMENT. I ASKED IF HE MEANT ELIMINATING FEUDAL REMNANTS. NO, JUMBLATT INSISTED, HE MEANT ELIMINATING MEDIOCRITY. (COMMENT: JUMBLATT OF COURSE DERIVES HIS MOST STEADY SUPPORT FROM HIS TRADITIONAL FEUDAL SUZERAINITY OVER MUCH OF THE DRUZE COMMUNITY).

13. PHALANGE (PROBABLY BASHIR GEMAYEL) HAS ACCEPTED PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, JUMBLATT ASSERTED, BUT NOT AN END TO CONFESSIONALISM. JUMBLATT THOUGH PARTIES OF THE LEFT CAN IMPOSE ON OTHER, MORE CONSERVATIVE MUSLIMS A REFORM  
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PROGRAM WHICH WOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, PERMIT CIVIL MARRIAGE AND SIMILAR CHANGES WHICH MANY CHRISTIANS SUPPORT. YOUNG PEOPLE, BOTH CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM, ARE IDEALISTIC. THEY WILL INSIST ON TOUGH REFORMS. THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THESE YOUNG PEOPLE, EXCEPT THAT THE CHRISTIAN YOUTH DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE PALESTINIANS AND HOW TO HANDLE THEM. MEANWHILE, COMPETITION AMONG TRADITIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERS SUCH AS CHAMOUN AND GEMAYEL LEADS TO ESCALATION OF RHETORIC AND MILITARY ACTION FOR NO GOOD REASON. THIS SHOULD END.

14. AS TO PALESTINIANS, ELIMINATION OF SAIQA HAS BEEN A GOOD THING. OF COURSE SOME GROUPS SUCH AS PFLP RESORT INOPPORTUNELY TO TERRORISM (HERE JUMBLATT SHOWED HE DID NOT APPROVE RECENT AIR FRANCE HIJACKING). THERE ARE ALSO TROUBLE-MAKING SMALL GROUPS BACKED BY LIBYANS AND IRAQIS AS WELL AS SYRIANS. HOWEVER, WITH SAIQA DISAPPEARANCE, PALESTINIANS CAN NOW IMPOSE THEIR OWN LAW AMONG MOST OF THEIR PEOPLE. LEBANESE MUST LEARN HOW TO DEAL WITH PALESTINIANS, OFFER THEM A BETTER LIFE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT PEOPLE NUMBERING THREE MILLION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THEY DO NOT WANT TO LIVE HERE ONLY AS AN ARMY. IN THIS SENSE, JUMBLATT SAID HE HAD NO FEAR FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY. PEOPLE MAY EVEN HAVE BENEFITED FROM THEIR EXORCISM OF BLOOD....

15. SPECIFICALLY, JUMBLATT SAID, 1969 DAHO ACCORD IS OUT OF DATE, BUT MODUS VIVENDI CAN BE REACHED WITH PALESTINIANS. HE NOTED THAT PALESTINIANS REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH CHRISTIANS THROUGH ABU HASSAN WHO GOES BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE DIVIDING LINE, AS DOES PHALANGE'S BAYIR GEMAYEL. HE THEN MADE SOME REMARKS ABOUT A VIABLE PALESTINIAN STATE TO INCLUDE JORDAN, AND THE 1,200,000 PALESTINIANS HAVING A CHANCE TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN HAIFA, ETC. ETC. (JUMBLATT IS CLEARLY BEYOND HIS DEPTH OR INTEREST WHEN HE STARTS TALKING ABOUT THE LARGER PALESTINIAN PROBLEM).

16. SPECIFICALLY ON SYRIANS, JUMBLATT SAID THAT THEY MUST LEAVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ALL MUSLIMS ARE AGAINST THEM. ASSAD IS A MEDIOCRE MAN WHO HAS REPEATEDLY REFUSED TO TAKE OPPORTUNITIES TO GET OUT OF THE LEBANON. AS TO REASONS FOR SYRIAN INTERVENTION, JUMBLATT SPECULATED, SOME SAY SYRIA

WANTS THE BEKAA. OTHERS SAY SYRIA WISHES TO REPLACE FRANCE  
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AND HAS TAKEN THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO GET CLOSE TO THE MARONITES. JUMBLATT CLAIMED ASSAD HAS SPECIFICALLY TOLD HIM THIS ON FREQUENT OCCASIONS WHILE THEY WERE STILL IN CONTACT, AS OF A FEW MONTHS AGO. ALSO, ASSAD HOPED TO WIN A CARD IN HIS DIPLOMATIC GAME, GOING TO FRANCE AS A FRIEND OF JORDAN ON THE ONE HAND AND WITH CONTROL OVER LEBANON AND THE PALESTINIANS ON THE OTHER. THIS WOULD HAVE HELPED HIM IN US EYES TOO AND MAYBE HELPED GET A GOLAN SETTLEMENT OF THE KIND HE WANTS. HOWEVER, EGYPT IS NOW BEGINNING TO REPLACE SYRIA IN THE LEBANON AS IS NORMAL. AT LEAST SADAT IN HIS SINAI II POLICY WAS FRANK. HE HAS WON MUCH RESPECT.

17. JUMBLATT TENDED TO DOWN-PLAY THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY IN LEBANON. HE SAID THE VARIOUS PARTIES ARE BEGINNING TO TAKE SECURITY IN HAND. THERE ARE FEWER ASSASSINATIONS NOW AND LOOTING IS LESS BOTH IN BEIRUT AND IN THE MOUNTAINS. THE LEBANESE ARMY WILL BE REBUILT. THE POPULACE, ONCE IT HAS PEACE, WILL SELL ITS ARMS. WITH \$20 MILLION, JUMBLATT SAID, THE STATE COULD BUY BACK THE ARMS ITSELF. PEOPLE ARE HUNGRY. AGAIN HE RETURNED TO HIS THEME THAT YOUNG PEOPLE MUST BE ALLOWED TO TAKE POWER IN THIS COUNTRY.

18. FINALLY, JUMBLATT WISHED ME WELL. HE SAID DEAN BROWN DID A GOOD JOB HERE. HE PERHAPS LACKED PATIENCE. IT IS BETTER TOWORK A LITTLE MORE SLOWLY AND PATIENTLY AND PERHAPS WITH LOWER PROFILE, BUT US CAN BE HELPFUL.

19. SUMMING UP HIS VIEWS, JUMBLATT SAID HE EXPECTED THE WAR TO END SOON. EVEN THOUGH HE ADMITTED HIS OWN AIMS ARE WHAT AMOUNT TO A CONTINUOUS REVOLUTION UNTIL POWER MOVES FROM THE HANDS OF THE MARONITES TO HIS OWN AND THOSE OF OTHERS ALLIED WITH HIM, HE THOUGHT MEDITERRANEAN PEOPLE SUCH AS THE LEBANESE AND PALESTINIANS NEED A REST. TIME HAS COME FOR COMPROMISE, AND HE IS PREPARED FOR THAT. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER CONCENTRATED BITTERNESS BETWEEN FACTIONS MIGHT NOT IMPEDE COMPROMISE, HE SAID PEOPLE TEND TO FORGET THE CARNAGE, BLOOD, AND DESTRUCTION, PARTICULARLY IF A CATASTROPHE IS BIG ENOUGH. MEANWHILE NOTHING CAN BE DONE BY WAY OF FORMAL PEACEMAKING UNTIL THE SYRIANS WITHDRAW TOTALLY FROM THE LEBANON.

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20. COMMENT: AS I HAVE BEEN TOLD TO EXPECT, JUMBLATT HAS AN UNCANNILY WINNING PERSONALITY. IT IS HARD TO DISLIKE THE MAN FACE TO FACE. HE HAS MANY MOODS AND MANY GUISES AND SEEMS TO BE SPEAKING FRANKLY AT ALL TIMES. HOWEVER, WHAT HE

SAID OFTEN STRUCK ME AS UNREALISTIC TO SAY THE LEAST. IN  
PARTICULAR, I WAS STRUCK BY HIS GREAT OPTIMISM TO ME IN VIEW  
OF HIS SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS THAT THE WAR WILL  
CONTINUE AND VIETNAMIZATION MAY RESULT IF THE CHRISTIANS DO NOT  
STOP THEIR ATTACK ON TELL XAATAR. HE IS CLEARLY A MAN WHOSE  
WORDS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE. BUT HE IS ALSO A  
LEADER WHO SEEMS INDISPENSIBLE IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL  
MAKEUP HERE. HE IS OUT TO BECOME NUMBER ONE IN THE LEBANON,  
EVEN IF THIS TAKES A FEW MORE YEARS.  
SEELYE

UNQTE  
ROBINSON

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